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*Published in:*  
Journal of Personality

*DOI:*  
[10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00751.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00751.x)

*Publication date:*  
2012

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Nel, J. A., Valchev, V. H., Rothmans, S., van de Vijver, F. J. R., Meiring, D., & de Bruin, G. P. (2012). Exploring the personality structure in the 11 languages of South Africa. *Journal of Personality*, 80, 915-948.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00751.x>

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# Exploring the Personality Structure in the 11 Languages of South Africa

Jan Alewyn Nel,<sup>1</sup> Velichko H. Valchev,<sup>2</sup>  
Sebastiaan Rothmann,<sup>1</sup> Fons J. R. van de Vijver,<sup>1,2</sup>  
Deon Meiring,<sup>3</sup> and Gideon P. de Bruin<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>North-West University, South Africa

<sup>2</sup>Tilburg University, The Netherlands

<sup>3</sup>University of Pretoria, South Africa

<sup>4</sup>University of Johannesburg, South Africa

**ABSTRACT** The present study, part of the development of the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI), explores the implicit personality structure in the 11 official language groups of South Africa by employing a mixed-method approach. In the first, qualitative part of the study, semistructured interviews were conducted with 1,216 participants from the 11 official language groups. The derived personality-descriptive terms were categorized and clustered based on their semantic relations in iterative steps involving group discussions and contacts with language and cultural experts. This analysis identified 37 subclusters, which could be merged in 9 broad clusters: Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Facilitating, Integrity, Intellect, Openness, Relationship

The SAPI, an acronym for the South African Personality Inventory, is a project that aims to develop an indigenous personality measure for all 11 official languages in South Africa. Participants are Byron Adams (University of Johannesburg and Tilburg University), Gideon P. de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Karina de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Carin Hill (University of Johannesburg), Leon Jackson (North-West University), Deon Meiring (University of Pretoria and University of Stellenbosch), Jan Alewyn Nel (North-West University), Ian Rothmann (North-West University), Michael Temane (North-West University), Velichko H. Valchev (Tilburg University), and Fons J. R. van de Vijver (North-West University and Tilburg University).

Special thanks are expressed to Boele de Raad for his comments on the final versions of the model presented in this study.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jan Alewyn Nel, North-West University, School for Human Resource Sciences, Potchefstroom, North-West, 2520, South Africa. Email: alewyn.nel@nwu.ac.za.

*Journal of Personality* 80:4, August 2012

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DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00751.x

Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness. In the second, quantitative part, the perceived relations between the 37 subclusters were rated by 204 students from different language groups in South Africa and 95 students in the Netherlands. The outcomes generally supported the adequacy of the conceptual model, although several clusters in the domain of relational and social functioning did not replicate in detail. The outcomes of these studies revealed a personality structure with a strong emphasis on social-relational aspects of personality.

Personality inventories are mostly developed from existing, usually Western, personality models. Even if it is assumed that personality structure is universal, there may be cross-cultural variations in the expression of this structure, which have implications for assessment (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). We present the outcomes of a mixed-method study that explores personality structure in South Africa, which in the end will be employed to develop a new personality inventory (the South African Personality Inventory [SAPI]). We first provide a brief introduction to current etic and emic approaches to the study of personality structure, followed by a description of the comparative lexical approach (a version of which is adopted in the present study).

### **Approaches to the Study of Personality Structure**

Different approaches have been employed in the exploration of personality structure and the comparison of personality structures across cultures. The etic approach, usually employing inventories, focuses on the cross-cultural universality of traits, whereas the emic (indigenous) approach investigates traits in a particular culture, thereby maximizing the suitability of the instrument in the target cultural context (Church, 2001). It is a strength of the etic approach that it helps to identify commonalities in personality across cultures, and a weakness that the focus on commonalities may lead to an underrepresentation of culturally unique aspects. The strengths and weaknesses of the emic approach are just the opposite. Therefore, both approaches are complementary. The cross-cultural comparison of lexical studies has been suggested as a way of combining etic and emic approaches (F. M. Cheung, Van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Lee & Ashton, 2008; Saucier, 2009; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001).

A typical representative of the etic approach is the body of research that has found support for the Five-Factor Model (FFM)—

describing personality along the dimensions of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience—across a large number of cultures (e.g., McCrae et al., 2005). In this tradition, a model developed in the United States has been replicated using structured personality inventories in Western and non-Western regions, where many different languages from various language families are spoken (McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae et al., 2005). Several studies have indicated problems with the cross-cultural replicability of the Openness dimension; yet the exact role of culture is not clear because no cultural factor has been identified that could explain when a good (or bad) replication of Openness could be expected (Church, 2008).

On the other hand, studies in the emic approach set out to explore the indigenous personality structure in a given culture. F. M. Cheung and colleagues (2001) studied personality conceptions in China, starting with assembling everyday-life person descriptions from Chinese literature, proverbs, and interviews. The qualitative findings of this exploration served as input for an indigenous Chinese questionnaire, the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI, and subsequently CPAI-2). The factor-analytic structure observed with this questionnaire had a fair correspondence with the FFM; however, Openness was found to be weakly represented, and a new concept, labeled Interpersonal Relatedness, was identified that could not be subsumed under the FFM. This new factor involves relational aspects of personality, such as maintaining harmony, avoiding conflict, being flexible to situations, and saving face. Interestingly, subsequent research with the CPAI replicated the Interpersonal Relatedness dimension with other Asian (S. F. Cheung, F. M. Cheung, Howard, & Lim, 2006), Chinese American, and even European American samples (Lin & Church, 2004). This suggests that F. M. Cheung and colleagues' study, starting from an indigenous perspective, has identified a personality construct that is recognizable beyond the specific context of Chinese culture, although its salience in other cultures may be different. Using a similar research approach, Katigbak and colleagues (e.g., Katigbak, Church, Guanzon-Lapeña, Carlota, & del Pilar, 2002) conducted a series of studies of indigenous Filipino personality structure. The dimensions they identified were largely similar to the FFM, and culture-specific elements were only found for some items of Broad-Mindedness (Openness).

### Lexical Models Across Cultures

The psycholexical method is widely employed in personality research. It is based on the assumption that salient individual differences in psychological functioning are embedded or encoded in language (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Individual differences that are seen as more prominent are more likely to have been converted to single words to help describe people. To study the implicit personality conceptions, personality-descriptive terms are sampled from dictionaries and research participants are asked to rate themselves or a familiar other on each term contained in a list. These ratings are subsequently factor-analyzed. Most lexical studies report support for the Big Five structure of personality constructs, closely corresponding to the FFM (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). An extensive overview by De Raad et al. (2010), however, suggested that Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness are the only factors that fully replicate across languages.

Lexical studies typically employ single person-descriptive terms extracted from lexis. An alternative approach is to conduct interviews and analyze the generated descriptions, which usually involve whole phrases in context. Saucier and Goldberg (2001) indicated that the implicit structure of personality descriptions in phrases or sentences is closely related to that based on single words like nouns or adjectives. Analysis of free descriptions derived from interviews has been applied in studies of adult personality (e.g., John, 1990) and parents' perceptions of child personality (Harkness et al., 2006; Kohnstamm, Halverson, Mervielde, & Havill, 1998). The contextual information found in free descriptions in interviews makes them well suited for the exploration of indigenous personality conceptions in different cultures (Mervielde, 1998), which may be especially relevant if a language uses relatively few abstract trait terms.

To summarize, despite the substantial evidence for universality of the Big Five model of personality traits coming from studies with structured inventories (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae et al., 2005), lexical studies conducted in different languages have found less support for universality (e.g., De Raad et al., 2010). In addition, indigenous studies, notably by F. M. Cheung et al. (2001), have pointed out that the Big Five model may not be complete, especially with respect to social aspects of personality. It is evident that indigenous studies in non-Western countries have the potential to detect

important personality concepts not well represented by the Big Five or other Western models. The theoretical debate about the universality of personality dimensions is thus ongoing, and the consensus on the universality of the Big Five model appears to be weaker than a few decades ago (Church, 2008; De Raad et al., 2010). While the most convincing evidence for culture-specific dimensions or additions to the Big Five from a cross-cultural perspective comes from indigenous studies in China (Church, 2008), it is important to note that little systematic research has been done on indigenous personality conceptions in Africa.

### **Personality Study in the South African Context**

The general practice in personality research and assessment in South Africa has been to adopt or adapt tests developed abroad for use in South Africa (Foxcroft, Paterson, Le Roux, & Herbst, 2004). Most of these tests did not take into account the political, social, and economic history of South Africa, and this had a major impact on psychological assessment for all South Africans. Several studies have found that these personality inventories showed weak structural equivalence across ethnic groups and often a low reliability in indigenous African groups (e.g., Abrahams & Mauer, 1999; Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005). These psychometric problems could to some extent be attributable to language problems for populations whose native tongue is one of South Africa's indigenous languages; however, item adaptation has not proven a viable way to solve such problems (Meiring, Van de Vijver, & Rothmann, 2006).

Taylor and De Bruin set out to develop a culturally valid measure of the FFM in South Africa, taking local context into account. They found similar factor structures and reliabilities of the five factors of their Basic Traits Inventory across Black and White groups (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005) and across different indigenous African language groups (Ramsay, Taylor, De Bruin, & Meiring, 2008). This work suggests that personality inventories based on trait models such as the FFM can yield comparable scores across cultural groups in South Africa.

### *Indigenous Concept of Ubuntu*

There have been several studies of indigenous African conceptions of personality (for an overview, see Berry et al., 2002). Although never

worked out in great detail, these models emphasize the relatedness of persons in groups. An important concept that captures this relatedness is Ubuntu, which is a traditional, everyday notion in South Africa, especially salient among Black South Africans. Relational aspects and the social foundation of a person are core in Ubuntu, as reflected in the Bantu wisdom “A person is only a person through others.” Ubuntu is associated with social relatedness, peace, and harmony in a collective- and community-based environment; with respect for others, tolerance, compassion, and sensitivity toward the elderly, the handicapped, and the less privileged; with being obedient toward adults, parents, seniors, and authority; with having courtesy and loyalty; and with being warm, welcoming, generous, honest, and trustworthy (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). These elements help in building and maintaining relationships and are related to the values of collectivism (e.g., Hofstede, 1980). The notion of Ubuntu is also often quoted as meaning or implying that a person perceives him- or herself through the perception of others. There are as yet no studies to substantiate (or refute) the claim that Ubuntu is an indigenous South African personality construct. Even without such validity data, the concept of Ubuntu is relevant for our study because it demonstrates the importance of social and relational aspects of personality in South Africa.

### **The Present Study**

The exploration of the South African personality structure described in the present study forms part of a bigger project, aimed at creating an indigenous South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) to overcome current problems facing personality measurement in South Africa. An important aim of the larger project is the development of a culturally informed and psychometrically sound instrument to deal with the rich ethnic and language distribution of the South African population. There are 11 official languages in South Africa, which belong to 2 unrelated language families: 2 Germanic (Afrikaans and English, spoken as a first language by 21.5% of the country's population) and 9 Bantu languages (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, Zulu, Tsonga, and Venda, spoken by 77.9% of the population; Statistics South Africa, 2001). Each language is spoken as a first language by a relatively distinct cultural group. Germanic-language speakers may belong to one of three different social-ethnic groups of the apartheid classification still in

use today ("White," 9.6%; "Coloured," 8.9%; or "Asian/Indian," 2.5% of the total population), whereas all Bantu-language speakers are native African ("Black"); English is commonly spoken and understood by people in all groups.

The present study explores the implicit personality structure as reflected in the language of speakers of all 11 official languages in South Africa. Our research relates to the theoretical framework of the lexical approach. However, we also deviate from it by using interviews instead of dictionary surveys as means of data generation. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, dictionaries of a sufficient quality for our purposes are not available in all official South African languages. Secondly, some languages do not have many personality-descriptive terms, which would have led to a potential underrepresentation of relevant concepts. Thirdly, there are few psychologists available in various language groups who could conduct a lexical study. Therefore, we adopted the free-descriptions approach and conducted interviews in which participants were asked to describe in their native language themselves and particular people they knew well. Although the lexical approach and our approach have the same goals (i.e., to identify salient personality descriptors used in a language) and will probably yield similar results, both have their own strength. The main strength of the lexical approach is its exhaustiveness: A list of personality descriptors based on a dictionary search finds all relevant terms. The main strength of our approach is ecological validity: Words and expressions found in free descriptions are actually used in that particular language.

We report two studies. In the first study, we employ a conceptual analysis of the semantic clustering of personality-descriptive terms from interviews in all 11 languages. The individual responses obtained in the interviews are combined in a hierarchical clustering process by analyzing their semantic relations. The second study attempts to replicate parts of the clustering process using quantitative methods.

## STUDY 1

### Method

#### *Participants*

Interviews were conducted with participants ( $N = 1,217$ ) from all 11 language groups. A combination of quota and convenience sampling was



used. The distribution of participants was done in such a manner that variation was obtained in gender, urban/rural residence, education, and age. Because speakers of some language groups live mainly in rural areas, no urban participants were recruited from these groups; sample characteristics are presented in Table 1.

### *Instrument*

Participants were asked to describe themselves and nine other persons they can be assumed to know well: their best friend of the same sex, their best friend of the opposite sex, a parent, their eldest child or sibling, a grandparent, a colleague or friend from another ethnic group, a person who is the total opposite of the participant, a teacher they liked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they liked), and a teacher they disliked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they disliked). In some of the interviews, instead of self-descriptions and descriptions of a person opposite to oneself, descriptions of a neighbor and of a disliked person were obtained. The following four prompts were used: "Please describe the following people to me by telling me what kind of person he or she is/was"; "Can you describe typical aspects of this person?"; "Can you describe the behavior or habits that are characteristic of this person?"; and "How would you describe this person to someone who does not know him/her?" All participants were asked these questions and there was no limit on the number of characteristic descriptions provided per person.

### *Procedure*

Field-workers who were native speakers of the target language were recruited and trained to collect data for each of the language groups. The interviews were conducted in the native language of the participants, tape-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by the field-workers. Transcriptions were entered in Excel worksheets. Language experts checked the accuracy of the translations and made corrections where necessary. There were between 2,300 (Southern Sotho) and 7,300 (English) responses per language group; the total number of responses was 53,139.

### *Analysis Outline*

In a preparatory stage of the analysis, physical descriptions (e.g., "He has a dark complexion"), purely evaluative terms (e.g., "He is not good"), and ambiguous terms (e.g., "She is unlike other girls") were excluded. This resulted in the retention of 49,818 responses for the analysis; this number

Table 1  
Sample Characteristics per Language

Characteristic	Language Group										
	Germanic		Sotho-Tswana (Bantu)			Nguni (Bantu)			Other Bantu		
	Afrikaans ( <i>n</i> = 70)	English ( <i>n</i> = 119)	N. Sotho ( <i>n</i> = 120)	S. Sotho ( <i>n</i> = 62)	Tswana ( <i>n</i> = 122)	Ndebele <sup>a</sup> ( <i>n</i> = 107)	Swati ( <i>n</i> = 116)	Xhosa ( <i>n</i> = 118)	Zulu ( <i>n</i> = 141)	Tsonga ( <i>n</i> = 120)	Venda ( <i>n</i> = 121)
Gender											
Male	25	44	60	20	58	46	38	51	72	33	68
Female	45	75	60	42	64	61	69	67	69	44	52
Ethnic group											
Black			120	62	122	107	116	118	141	120	121
Coloured	26										
Indian		58									
White	44	61									
Age group											
16–25	30	43	39	31	43	17	42	30	46	33	33
26–35	17	37	21	8	20	42	26	36	34	48	48
36–45	8	13	30	20	54	28	22	36	49	31	31
46–76	10	16	30	3	5	19	11	16	11	6	6
Mean age ( <i>SD</i> )	30.8 (12.3)	32.2 (13.2)	35.4 (13.5)	29.6 (9.2)	32 (9.3)	36.2 (12.2)	30.9 (11.9)	34.6 (11.9)	32.5 (9.9)	31.8 (8.5)	31.8 (8.5)
Environment											
Urban	55	119	53	56	113	101	36	116	34	120	120
Rural	15		67	6	9		79		107		

<sup>a</sup>Disputed status; also classified as Sotho-Tswana.

includes doubly counted composite responses that were categorized in more than one category (e.g., the response “cheerful and sociable” was counted once in each of the respective categories, *cheerful* and *sociable*).

The analysis spanned three main stages: labeling, categorizing, and semantic clustering (for a more detailed description of the analysis employed on a subset of the data, see Valchev et al., 2011). The general aim was to reduce the number of statements and categories in an inductive analysis, based on the semantic similarity and patterns of co-occurrence of responses, with as few theoretical presumptions as possible. English-language dictionaries and personality literature were consulted in all stages. In the labeling stage, we provided common labels for responses with related but not verbatim identical content (e.g., “He loves going out with friends” and “He was outgoing” were labeled as *outgoing*). With this initial grouping of responses we met two aims: (1) reducing the number of responses to a more manageable number for further analysis and (2) making labels of personality-descriptive terms consistent across the language groups. This stage resulted in over 900 personality-descriptive labels.

In the categorization stage, the responses were categorized in personality facets. We put together synonyms (e.g., *outgoing* and *socializing* in the Sociable facet) and antonyms (e.g., *quiet* and *talkative* in the Talkative facet). This further condensation resulted in a total number of 188 personality facets across languages that represent personality descriptions at a low-to-medium level of abstraction. Out of the 188 facets, 79 were extracted in all 11 languages, 71 in 7 to 10 languages, 28 in 3 to 6 languages, and 10 in 1 or 2 languages.

In the semantic clustering stage, we first grouped the personality facets into more abstract subclusters. The 188 facets were grouped into 37 subclusters based on shared content and patterns of co-occurrence of the responses (e.g., the Helpful, Supportive, and Community Involvement facets were assigned to the Active Support subcluster). The analysis aimed to maximize the homogeneity of personality descriptions within each subcluster and their heterogeneity across clusters. Finally, the subclusters were further grouped by means of a conceptual analysis into nine broad clusters at a level of abstraction similar to that of the Big Five model. The clusters include two to six subclusters each, and the subclusters include 2 to 12 facets each. The clusters, subclusters, facets, and examples of constituting responses are presented (alphabetically) in Table 2.

### *Quality Control*

There are no generally agreed-upon procedures for comparative qualitative studies on such a large scale. Therefore, we designed our own checks and procedures to assess the validity of our inferences. The process

**Table 2**  
Clusters, Subclusters, Facets of Personality-Descriptive Terms,  
and Example Responses

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Conscientiousness	Achievement Orientation	Career-Oriented (6/27)	She prioritizes—a career before serious relationship (English)
		Competitive (8/23)	Likes to compete and compare herself with other people (Xhosa)
		Dutiful (1/4)	Dutiful (Afrikaans)
		Hard-Working (11/1369)	Hard worker (Venda)
		Performance-Oriented (7/27)	He likes to achieve everything by himself (N. Sotho)
	Dedication	Timeous (1/9)	Timeous (Afrikaans)
		Dedicated (9/276)	Dedicated to his work (Tswana)
		Determined (11/192)	He is determined in everything he does (S. Sotho)
		Future-Oriented (11/145)	One who thinks about his future (Swati)
		Passionate (8/88)	He does his work wholeheartedly (Tsonga)
	Orderliness	Perseverant (10/261)	She perseveres (Zulu)
		Purposeful (5/64)	Goal-directed (English)
		Consistent (3/38)	Consistent (Afrikaans)
		Follow-up (2/4)	She likes to make follow-ups on things (Ndebele)
		Meticulous (9/92)	Doesn't have room for mistakes (Venda)
	Self-Discipline	Organized (11/155)	He is a good planner (Tsonga)
		Punctual (11/100)	She is always late for her class (N. Sotho)
		Tidy (10/708)	Is always clean and tidy (Swati)
		Thorough (3/21)	Very thorough (English)
		Deliberating (9/36)	He does things without thinking first (S. Sotho)
		Disciplined (9/64)	He doesn't have self-discipline (Tswana)
		Naughty (11/81)	He is very naughty and doesn't listen (Zulu)
		Obedient (10/110)	Obeys his parents (Venda)
		Rebellious (8/45)	Rebel, dislikes any rules (Afrikaans)
		Serious (8/38)	Serious when time calls for you to be serious (English)
	Thoughtlessness	Absentminded (6/34)	Is forgetful (Xhosa)
		Reckless (9/46)	He is careless (Swati)

*(Continued)*

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Emotional Stability	Balance	Balancing Life (2/13)	Balanced person (English)
		Even-Tempered (11/242)	Quite calm, not rattled easily (English)
		Mature (11/114)	He behaves like a young boy (Tsonga)
		Short-Tempered (11/660)	She gets angry easily (Ndebele)
	Courage	Courageous (10/126)	Is brave and is able to kill a snake alone (Swati)
		Fearful (11/180)	She gets easily scared (Tswana)
	Ego Strength	Attention Seeking (10/63)	Craves attention (Afrikaans)
		Demanding (10/110)	Difficult to please (Xhosa)
		Needy (10/74)	He is always needy and expects others to sympathize with him (Tsonga)
		Self-Confident (10/165)	Believed in himself (Zulu)
		Self-Respectful (11/195)	Has self-respect (Venda)
		Coping (3/8)	Copes very well (English)
	Emotional Control	Obsessive-Compulsive (1/4)	Obsessive behavior like tea in the morning, then the pills (English)
		Patient (11/547)	He does not get impatient with you when you talk to him; he would listen to you attentively before answering you (N. Sotho)
		Temperamental (11/264)	One minute she is happy, the next minute she is angry (N. Sotho)
		Emotional (10/107)	Cries a lot (Tswana)
	Emotional Sensitivity	Exaggerate (6/16)	Overreacted (English)
		Sensitive (11/179)	Easily gets hurt (Xhosa)
	Neuroticism	Complaining (9/47)	Real moaner; moans about everything (Afrikaans)
		Content (6/26)	She never gets satisfied (N. Sotho)
		Depressive (3/14)	Depressed (Afrikaans)
		Neurotic (1/3)	Neurotic (English)
		Tense (4/10)	Gets stressed out over small things (Xhosa)

(Continued)

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Extraversion	Dominance	Assertive (11/238)	Stand for her viewpoint (Venda)
		Authoritarian (11/350)	He wanted things to be done his way (S. Sotho)
		Disciplining (11/488)	She liked to instill discipline (Tsonga)
	Expressiveness	Strict (11/478)	Strict and bossy (Tswana)
		Captivating (11/199)	People just got drawn to her (English)
		Emotional Sharing (11/345)	If something has upset him, he tells me (Zulu)
		Noisy (9/109)	A noisy person (S. Sotho)
		Outspoken (8/61)	Outspoken, especially when someone is wrong (Xhosa)
		Secretive (9/145)	He did not want to talk about his past or future (Tsonga)
		Straightforward (11/152)	He is a straightforward and straight-talking person (N. Sotho)
	Positive Emotionality	Cheerful (11/810)	Always in a jovial mood; is never in a bad mood (Swati)
		Humorous (11/704)	He is full of jokes (Ndebele)
		Optimistic (9/87)	Very positive (Venda)
		Playful (10/134)	A playful person (Tswana)
	Sociability	Pleasure Seeking (8/68)	Likes to have fun (Xhosa)
		Vivacious (10/175)	Energetic (Afrikaans)
		Communicative (11/146)	I love communicating with people (S. Sotho)
		Extravert/Introvert (8/246)	She is an introvert (Swati)
		Reserved (8/138)	He is reserved (Zulu)
		Shy (11/190)	Shy, but if you get to know me, you would understand me (English)
		Sociable (11/1508)	He enjoys being with people (N. Sotho)
		Spontaneous (2/67)	Spontaneous (Afrikaans)
		Storyteller (11/115)	She likes to tell about the times when she was still a girl (Zulu)
		Talkative (11/1239)	I like chatting with people (Tsonga)

(Continued)

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Facilitating	Encouraging Others	Aspirations for Others (10/146)	Wishes for everyone to succeed (Xhosa)
		Encouraging (11/694)	Likes to encourage and motivate people (Swati)
		Thought-Provoking (1/3)	Comes up with ideas, solutions, and suggestions that make you realize things (English)
		Uplifting (8/56)	Brings out the lighter side in me (English)
	Guidance	Advising (11/885)	Gives advice about life (Venda)
		Didactic (10/351)	He taught me so many things (Ndebele)
		Guiding (10/199)	She is able to guide others (Tsonga)
		Influential (6/68)	A person who inspires (Tswana)
		Leading (8/66)	He is a leader at school and in the community as well (N. Sotho)
		Respectable (6/49)	She is respected by people in the village (S. Sotho)
Integrity	Fairness	Role Model (11/195)	He is a role model to me (Zulu)
		Discriminative (11/544)	Discriminates, does not buy clothes for everybody (Swati)
	Integrity	Fair (10/140)	Fair, not prejudiced (Afrikaans)
		Honest (11/420)	Honest (Xhosa)
		Integrity (3/17)	Sound values and integrity (English)
		Loyal (5/110)	Loyal—to duties and as friend (English)
		Morally Conscious (9/459)	He does not like people to do bad things (N. Sotho)
		Pretending (11/160)	A person who pretends to like you, whereas he does not (Zulu)
		Responsible (11/403)	He is responsible (Tswana)
		Trustworthy (11/1058)	Reliable and trustworthy (Venda)
		Truthful (11/589)	She likes telling the truth (Ndebele)

*(Continued)*

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Intellect	Aesthetics	Artistic (4/18)	Artistic and creative with lots of interests (Afrikaans)
		Concrete Work (10/265)	He loved handiwork (Tsonga)
		Creative (9/76)	Creative, makes furniture (English)
		Musical (5/15)	She is a good singer (Swati)
		Talented (8/21)	He has many talents (Tswana)
	Reasoning	Intelligent (10/443)	Is able to see where the problem lies (Xhosa)
		Knowledgeable (11/105)	He understands or knows history well, and wild animals (Ndebele)
		Logical (7/47)	Rational and logical (English)
		Self-Insight (5/12)	He understands himself (S. Sotho)
	Skillfulness	Articulative (11/206)	He taught history nicely and explained beautifully (Zulu)
		Competent (10/104)	He does his work well (Tswana)
		Enterprising (11/139)	He is a person who owns and runs his shop very well (Zulu)
	Social Intellect	Useless (3/5)	He is useless (Tsonga)
		Perceptive (9/116)	She could easily see when you had a problem (Zulu)
		Socially Intelligent (6/20)	Knows how to deal with people (Xhosa)
		Understanding (10/463)	He understands my traditions (Venda)
Openness	Broad-Mindedness	Dreamer (4/13)	Dreamer (Xhosa)
		Independent (11/312)	I am an independent-minded person (S. Sotho)
		Individualistic (3/25)	Individualistic (Afrikaans)
		Open-Minded (10/127)	He is interested in other languages as well (N. Sotho)
		Prim and Proper (1/3)	Prim and proper (English)
		Progressive (9/148)	Conservative (Afrikaans)
		Religious (11/1381)	I'm a religious person (Tsonga)
		Traditional (11/469)	Liked traditional things (Swati)
		Visionary (3/6)	Visionary (Xhosa)

(Continued)



Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Relationship Harmony	Epistemic Curiosity	Academically Oriented (11/240)	She likes to be educated (Ndebele)
		Eager to Learn (11/209)	Likes to learn about other people's culture (Venda)
		Inquisitive (11/153)	A person who likes to know the answers of life (Tswana)
	Materialism	Fashion-Conscious (11/293)	Is always well dressed in current fashion (Swati)
		Materialistic (11/86)	Likes money (Zulu)
	Openness to Experience	Adventurous (4/36)	Adventurous (English)
		Like to Travel (8/70)	She likes traveling (S. Sotho)
	Approachability	Accommodating (5/26)	Addressed us in English so we could understand (Xhosa)
		Approachable (11/311)	She is approachable; I could speak to her about anything (S. Sotho)
		Arrogant (11/339)	He thinks he is better than all the other people (N. Sotho)
		Flexible (7/112)	Flexible to situation (Tswana)
		Humble (11/247)	She is a humble and down-to-earth person (Ndebele)
		Open for Others (8/65)	Accepts people for who and what they are (English)
		Proud (11/126)	Is proud and thinks of herself better than others (Swati)
		Stubborn (11/320)	Was stubborn, did not listen to anybody (Tswana)
		Tolerant (7/34)	Tolerant (Afrikaans)
		Welcoming (10/107)	Welcoming—to everyone (Venda)
	Conflict Seeking	Argumentative (10/105)	Likes to quarrel (Xhosa)
		Provoking (5/59)	Provocative and calls people names (Swati)
		Troublesome (11/337)	Creates tension for nothing (Zulu)
	Interpersonal Relatedness	Appeasing (9/37)	If she made you angry, she will come to your house and apologize (N. Sotho)
		Constructive (6/37)	Shares constructive ideas (Xhosa)
		Cooperative (8/116)	Works well with others (Tswana)
		Forgiving (10/159)	She holds no grudges (Tsonga)

*(Continued)*

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Softheartedness	Meddlesomeness	Good Relations With Another (10/529)	Maintains a good relation with others (Venda)
		Peaceful (11/458)	He likes peace among people (N. Sotho)
		Peacekeeping (10/174)	He likes to bring peace where there is misunderstanding (Ndebele)
		Well-Mannered (11/648)	Doesn't ask nicely (Afrikaans)
	Active Support	Gossiping (11/545)	A person who spreads rumors about other people (S. Sotho)
		Interfering (11/121)	Likes to interfere in other people's business (English)
		Community Involvement (11/143)	There is one person who is always looking after the community (Zulu)
		Heedful (11/426)	She listens when you talk to her (S. Sotho)
	Amiability	Helpful (11/1561)	Is helpful when you are in need (Swati)
		Protective (9/46)	Protective (Xhosa)
		Solving Problems of Others (11/159)	If I have a problem, she knows how to solve it (Ndebele)
		Supportive (11/618)	I like to give people my support (Tswana)
	Egoism	Friendly (11/740)	She is a friendly person (Tsonga)
		Irritating (7/93)	He is annoying and irritating (S. Sotho)
		Kind (11/1288)	Kind (Venda)
		Likable (10/183)	He is loved by everyone (S. Sotho)
		Pleasant (9/201)	He was a nice person to live with (Zulu)
		Stern (7/24)	Always serious, not smiling (Xhosa)
		Generous (11/1180)	One who is generous and gives food when asked (Swati)
		Greedy (8/29)	Greedy (Afrikaans)
		Jealous (11/306)	A person who is jealous of other people's possessions (Zulu)
		Self-Centered (9/71)	All revolves around her, she thinks (English)
		Selfish (11/390)	Wants everything for himself (Xhosa)

(Continued)

Table 2 (Cont.)

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
	Empathy	Agreeing (7/19)	Agreeable (Tswana)
		Caring (11/1689)	Cares about other people (English)
		Compassionate (11/443)	She feels pity for you when you are in trouble (N. Sotho)
		Considerate (8/174)	Considers others' feelings (Afrikaans)
		Humane (6/52)	He is good-natured and shows humanity (Swati)
		Loving (11/2903)	Loving and caring—concerned about my life (Venda)
		Respectful (11/1120)	He respects other people (Tsonga)
	Gratefulness	Satisfying Others (3/10)	Makes people happy all the time (Xhosa)
		Appreciative (10/116)	She doesn't appreciate the good of other people (Ndebele)
		Grateful (11/59)	He is not thankful for what people do for him (N. Sotho)
	Hostility	Abusive (11/293)	Abusive—physically and emotionally (English)
		Aggressive (11/601)	He is aggressive and likes fighting (Tswana)
		Critical (10/159)	He likes criticizing others (Tsonga)
		Cruel (11/475)	He is a cruel person (S. Sotho)
		Delinquent (11/543)	Mugged people (Xhosa)
		Denigrating (10/326)	Likes to belittle others (Venda)
		Distrustful (9/95)	He mistrusts people (English)
		Exploiting (10/79)	Uses other people (Afrikaans)
		Intimidating (11/65)	People were afraid of him (N. Sotho)
		Verbally Aggressive (11/461)	Swears at his parents (Zulu)
		Wrathful (1/11)	Is wrathful and scolds, especially when you have disappointed her (Swati)

*Note.* The numbers in parentheses in the Facet column indicate the number of languages where the facet appears and the number of responses represented under that facet.

of labeling, categorizing, and clustering was conducted mainly by the principal author, but closely monitored and extensively discussed with the other authors and members of the SAPI project. Personality-descriptive terms were discussed in frequent group meetings with the collaborators of this project in order to ensure adequacy and consistency of the analysis.

Several workshops were conducted at different stages of the analysis, in which cultural and linguistic experts on the studied cultural groups provided feedback on the adequacy of the categorization and the ensuing personality facets. The feedback from these workshops was taken into account in the further modification of the conceptual clustering. Individual discussions were held with cultural and personality experts on the final outcomes of the semantic clustering analysis, which allowed some final refinements to the model to be made.

## Results

In the following paragraphs, the nine clusters are presented in alphabetical order, with a brief description of their content (see Table 2 for a full overview and examples of characteristic responses).

The *Conscientiousness* cluster represents an orientation toward achieving things; having passion, determination, and perseverance in the goals one sets for oneself; being precise and thorough, tidy, punctual, careful and well organized, and caring about order; and the ability to behave according to expectations. On the negative pole, this cluster includes the characteristics of being forgetful and reckless.

*Emotional Stability* refers to the emotional balance of a person, the disposition to bravery and courage, the quality of being independent, confiding in one's own abilities and having a positive view of oneself, and the ability to control one's emotions and their expression, as well as to handle challenging life situations. On the negative pole, the cluster includes the tendency to be dissatisfied and complain, and proneness to depressive moods and stress.

The *Extraversion* cluster accounts for characteristics such as the tendency to control others forcefully, being open to share or communicate with other people, being energetic and upbeat and seeing the positive side of life, and the tendency to associate with others and enjoy having people around oneself.

*Facilitating* represents the ability to guide others through life by giving advice, teaching about right and wrong, and providing personal example as a role model, and the ability to motivate and encourage others so they realize their potential.

*Integrity* refers to the quality of being honest, loyal, and reliable; having principles and adhering to basic social norms of accepted behavior; and the inclination to accept and treat all people equally, rather than discriminate and favor some people over others.

*Intellect* represents the quality of being creative and talented, the capacity to attain insight in things in general and one's self in particular; having knowledge and sharing it with others; the ability to do things well, and the ability to understand others and social situations and to react adequately.

*Openness* represents the quality of being receptive of different ideas and appreciating progress, being eager to learn new things or skills, the fondness of material possessions, and the inclination toward traveling and seeing and experiencing new things.

*Relationship Harmony* encompasses characteristics such as being approachable and accessible for others (vs. placing oneself above others), being constructive in one's relationships, and actively maintaining them by being forgiving, peaceful, and cooperative. On the negative pole, the cluster includes the characteristics of being disruptive, causing (and enjoying) conflicts, and provoking others, as well as interfering in others' lives by gossiping or meddling.

*Softheartedness* represents the qualities of being pleasant and kind, being concerned with the welfare of others, having appreciation of life and gratitude to others, having compassion, considering other people's needs and feelings and caring for them, and being generous and actively involved with the well-being of one's peers and broader community. Subclusters from the negative pole are egoism and hostility.

Relationship Harmony and Softheartedness are related; yet, the two clusters have a different focus. Relationship Harmony refers more to behaviors aimed at maintaining good relationships with others, whereas Softheartedness deals more with nurturing and personal characteristics conducive for establishing or maintaining good relationships, focusing less on the relationship itself.

## Discussion

The aim of the present study was to explore the indigenous personality concepts of speakers of the 11 official languages in South Africa. The 49,818 personality-descriptive responses from the semistructured interviews were condensed in successive steps to 188 facets, 37 subclusters, and nine broad clusters. The nine-cluster conceptual model displays both similarities and differences with the dominant personality models such as the Big Five. The Extraversion, Softheartedness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Intellect, and

Openness clusters broadly correspond to the respective Big Five concepts. Softheartedness covers Agreeableness-related concepts, while our Intellect and Openness clusters may be two components of Openness in the FFM, where both labels for the factor have been used (De Raad & Van Heck, 1994). It is notable that the Softheartedness cluster, with six subclusters and 39 facets, has the largest array of personality concepts.

The remaining three clusters (Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating), on the other hand, seem to be less strongly related to the Big Five model. Integrity has some similarity with the Honesty factor of the HEXACO model (Ashton & Lee, 2001); however, our cluster has a greater emphasis on issues of fairness and discrimination. Relationship Harmony seems somewhat related to the Interpersonal Relatedness construct of the CPAI (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001). At the same time, it includes elements that are traditionally subsumed under Agreeableness (e.g., the Approachable and Tolerant facets) and does not include elements of face saving, which are characteristic of the CPAI's Interpersonal Relatedness factor. Finally, the Facilitating cluster is not covered in any of the Western models of personality. It is instructive to consider the distinction of this cluster from the Dominance subcluster (under Extraversion). Dominance stands for being assertive and forceful, even using intimidation or dictatorial tactics to acquire the compliance of others. Facilitating, on the other hand, refers to the beneficial influence of a person on others; a person with this characteristic is well respected and seen as a role model and a positive example for the community.

Softheartedness and the three more culture-specific constructs (Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating) all refer to aspects of social-relational functioning of a person. In this respect, they can be considered as elaborations and extensions of aspects that are represented by Agreeableness in the Big Five model (see, e.g., Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997). The richness and density of representations of social and relational aspects in the South African implicit personality conceptions are an important finding of this study.

Elements of Ubuntu (Nolte-Schamm, 2006) can also be recognized in clusters of the Agreeableness domain, especially Relationship Harmony and Softheartedness. These characteristics were recognizable in more than one cluster and, importantly, they were

recognizable in all languages. This indicates that Ubuntu concepts may function as a fairly broad underlying frame of reference that spans different personality clusters and cultural-linguistic groups in South Africa.

## STUDY 2

The process of condensing the original utterances to nine clusters was done in several steps and accompanied by extensive consultation. Still, an Achilles' heel of this approach is its unknown validity. Leaving the realm of qualitative methods, we wanted to address the validity of a part of this process. We turned to a quantitative exploration of the higher level grouping of the 37 subclusters. We aimed to estimate to what extent a grouping similar to the nine-cluster conceptual model would emerge when laypeople, who did not know our final clustering, rated the relations among the 37 subclusters. We were primarily interested in the replication of the model in South Africa, where it had originated; however, we also employed a small-scale study in the Netherlands that could serve as a frame of reference to indicate possible cultural influences on the perceived relations between the personality concepts.

## Method

### *Participants*

In South Africa, questionnaires were administered to 204 students at the University of Johannesburg majoring in the social sciences. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 50 years ( $M = 21.57$ ,  $SD = 4.69$ ); 157 were females, 42 were males, and five persons did not indicate their gender. Forty-one persons self-identified as White, 138 as Black, 14 as Coloured, and 5 as Asian or Indian; 6 persons failed to answer the ethnicity question. The sample included first-language speakers of Afrikaans ( $n = 2$ ), English ( $n = 20$ ), Northern Sotho ( $n = 21$ ), Southern Sotho ( $n = 13$ ), Tswana ( $n = 23$ ), Ndebele ( $n = 4$ ), Swati ( $n = 12$ ), Xhosa ( $n = 12$ ), Zulu ( $n = 20$ ), Tsonga ( $n = 12$ ), Venda ( $n = 6$ ), and other European ( $n = 3$ ) and African ( $n = 3$ ) languages; data on first language were missing for 53 persons. The students were not informed about the results of the conceptual cluster analysis reported before.

In the Netherlands, questionnaires were administered to 95 social science students at Tilburg University (77 females, 17 males, 1 unidentified) aged 18 to 32 years ( $M = 20.56$ ,  $SD = 2.81$ ). Participants were of

Dutch ( $n = 80$ ), Turkish ( $n = 3$ ), other European ( $n = 4$ ), African ( $n = 1$ ), and South American ( $n = 1$ ) origin; the ethnic origin of six persons was not specified.

### *Instrument*

The questionnaire was devised in English. It comprised a list of 666 pairs of personality characteristics: The 37 subcluster labels were crossed, yielding  $666 (= 37 \times 36 / 2)$  pairs.<sup>1</sup> Brief descriptions of all characteristics, based on the content of the subclusters as it emerged from the semantic analysis (similar to the descriptions provided in the Results section of Study 1), were provided, and participants were instructed to familiarize themselves with them. For each pair, participants were asked to rate the extent to which the two characteristics are related to each other. Participants were instructed to rate the characteristics as related if they indicated either similar (e.g., “love” and “devotion”) or opposite things (e.g., “love” and “hatred”) but as unrelated if they indicated things that have nothing or hardly anything to do with each other (e.g., “love” and “smartness”). Relatedness was rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all related*) to 5 (*very strongly related*). The questionnaire and the descriptions of the personality characteristics were translated into Dutch for the study in the Netherlands using a committee approach. Completion of the questionnaire took one hour on average.

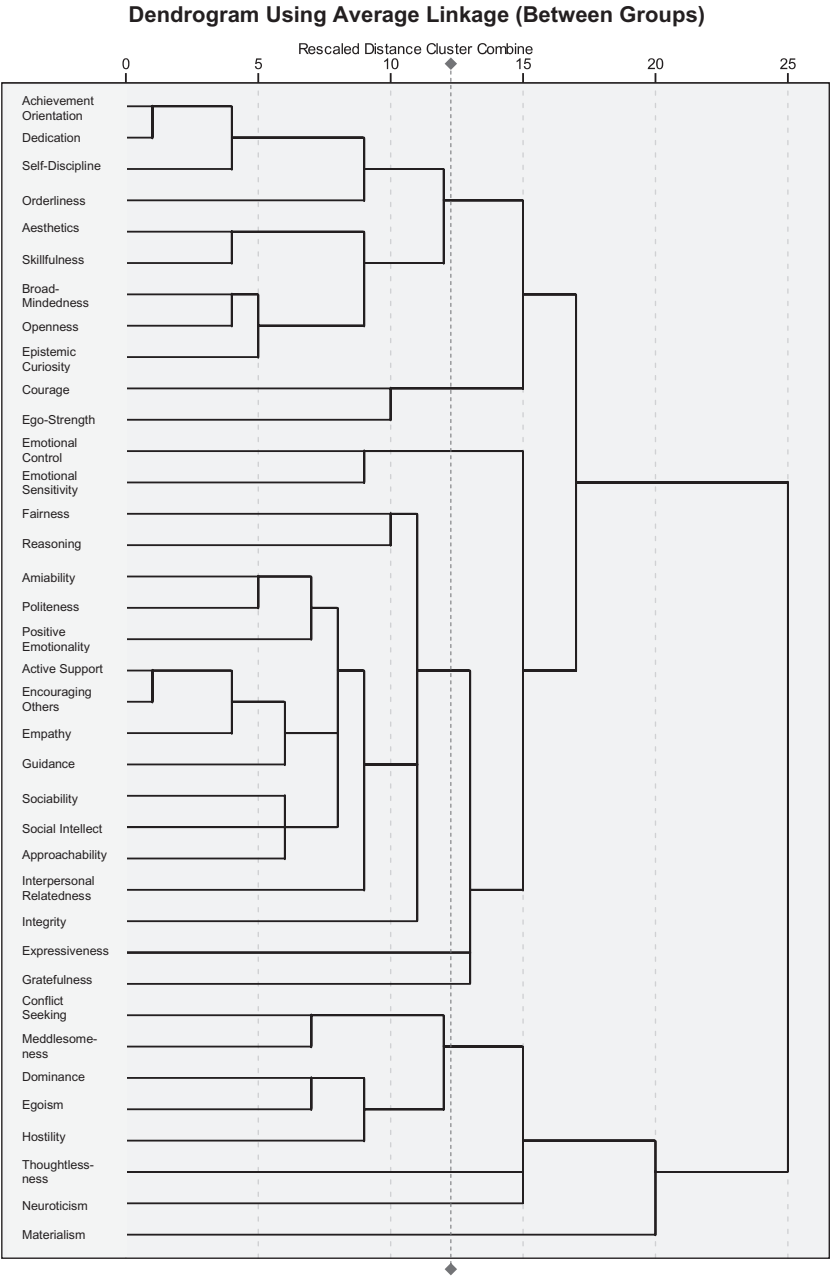
## **Results**

We calculated the average scores for each item (characteristics pair) across respondents. These scores were imputed in a symmetric matrix of proximities between the individual characteristics (37 subclusters). This matrix was subjected to a hierarchical cluster analysis using the average-between-group-linkage method.

The outcomes for the South African data (see Figure 1) suggest that on the highest level there is a distinction between positive and negative characteristics. The positive characteristics seem to be further divided into person-centered and relationship-centered clusters. (A related interpretation would be in terms of agentic vs.

1. Study 2 was conducted at a point before two final refinements had been made to the conceptual model presented in Study 1. As a result, there were two differences in the subclusters employed in Study 2: There was no Balance subcluster (its facets being included under other subclusters), and there was a Politeness subcluster (including the Prim-and-Proper and Well-Mannered facets). These differences between the versions of the conceptual model are minimal and do not substantially restrict their comparability.





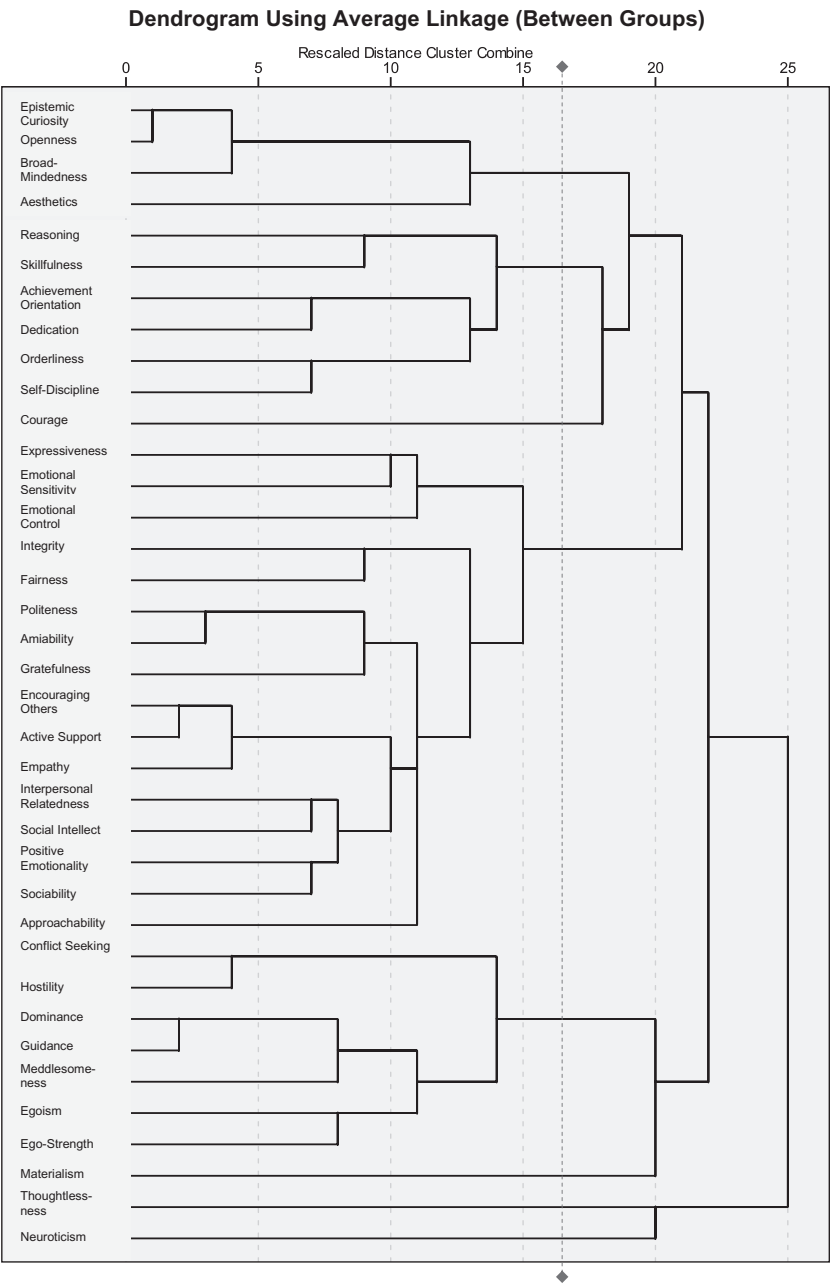
**Figure 1**  
**Dendrogram of hierarchical cluster analysis on South African data.**

communal characteristics, Bakan, 1966; what goes against it is the fact that the Extraversion components, which usually are agentic features, seem to reside under the communion/relationship-centered grouping.) On a lower, more specific level, the following configurations emerge (see dotted line in the figure). A Conscientiousness cluster emerges nearly identical to the conceptual model, except for the Thoughtlessness element, which goes to the negative valence supercluster. The same is true for the Openness cluster, with the respective exception of Materialism. Two of the four Intellect characteristics come out in one cluster; differently from expectations, Reasoning forms a cluster with Fairness, and Social Intellect goes to the cluster of Relations and Social Functioning. Four of the five Emotional Stability characteristics form two clusters that are separate yet close to each other; Neuroticism goes to the negative valence supercluster.

The broad cluster of relations and social functioning accommodates elements of proper Agreeableness (Amiability, Politeness, and Positive Emotionality), caring and guiding (Active Support, Encouraging Others, Empathy, and Guidance), social-relational orientation (Sociability, Social Intellect, Approachability, and Interpersonal Relatedness), and Integrity (Fairness, Reasoning, and Integrity). These elements broadly represent the concepts of Extraversion, Soft-heartedness, Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating from the conceptual model. The structure of the conceptual model is not replicated exactly, but there are some marked correspondences; for instance, the concepts of Empathy and Active Support, Guidance, and Encouraging Others seem to be related as expected in the context of the Softheartedness and Facilitating clusters (whereby the two clusters might, in turn, have a strong relation).

Finally, the negative valence supercluster accommodates all negative elements from different conceptual clusters. It is worth noting that even within this supercluster, groupings conform to the expectations from the conceptual model: Conflict and Meddlesomeness, on the one hand, and Egoism and Hostility, on the other hand, represent the negative poles of Relationship Harmony and Soft-heartedness, respectively.

The outcomes of the Dutch data (Figure 2) are fairly similar to the South African data. Conscientiousness, Openness, and, to a lesser extent, Intellect and Emotional Stability are clearly distinguishable as stand-alone clusters. Most negative concepts tend to group



**Figure 2**  
**Dendrogram of hierarchical cluster analysis on Dutch data.**

together, and there is a large cluster accommodating social-relational concepts. Differently from the South African data, Facilitating fails to emerge as a grouping within the social-relational cluster and there is a weaker relation between the two negative aspects of Relationship Harmony (Conflict Seeking and Meddlesomeness); on the other hand, Integrity emerges as a distinguishable grouping within the social-relational cluster and so do two elements of Extraversion (Positive Emotionality and Sociability).

### Discussion

The outcomes of the hierarchical cluster analysis are to some extent close to the structure of the conceptual model that was derived in the qualitative analysis. Conscientiousness, Openness, Intellect, Emotional Stability, and Facilitating are easily recognizable as clusters. Extraversion, Softheartedness, Integrity, and Relationship Harmony are less clearly distinguished within the broad cluster of relations and social functioning.

The overall division in negative and positive characteristics, which accounts for many of the discrepancies between the hierarchical cluster analysis and the conceptual model, is in agreement with findings from the lexical literature (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Whereas in the perceptions of laypeople the differentiation of positive from negative characteristics is apparently the most important grouping factor, our conceptual analysis of the qualitative data has focused on the content of and relations among the subclusters, independent of their valence.

The second source of discrepancies refers to the emergence of one global cluster of relations and social functioning, where the fine distinctions between the concepts do not appear to be clearly drawn in the perceptions of laypeople. Extraversion, Softheartedness, Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating are to some extent intertwined. Nonetheless, several of their elements clearly group together as expected. This broad social cluster also attracts Social Intellect, indicating that in the perceptions of participants, this concept is primarily important for its social, rather than intellectual, functions. The failure to replicate the finer distinctions in the interpersonal domain may to some extent be attributable to the relatively high demands of the similarity judgment task, involving 666 pairwise comparisons.

The Dutch data as a whole demonstrate important similarities with both the South African data and the conceptual model. In addition, we found some differences between the Dutch and South African data that seem informative on the cultural meaning of the derived personality constructs. Facilitating is more readily recognized as a personality concept in South Africa than in the Netherlands; in this sense it may indeed represent an indigenous personality concept. In a similar manner but in the opposite direction, the relation between the constituting elements of Extraversion (Positive Emotionality and Sociability) and Integrity (Integrity and Fairness) seems to be more salient in the conceptions of Dutch people than South Africans. The latter observation may imply that to some extent, our conceptual model has inadvertently been influenced somewhat by our own Western (theoretical) perspectives on personality.

In conclusion, quantitative data on the perceived relations between the 37 midlevel subclusters provide general support for the adequacy of the qualitative clustering of the first study, although several of the conceptual clusters in the domain of relations and social functioning did not replicate in detail. This incomplete overlap of the findings of the two studies points to the necessity to validate the structure in a more elaborate way by administering items derived from the clusters to representative samples of various ethnic groups in South Africa. This study will clarify whether the two related clusters in the social domain, Relationship Harmony and Softheartedness, are distinct as observed in the first study or are more likely to merge in a social supercluster as found in the second study. Such a study is currently underway.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

We set out to explore the implicit personality structure in South Africa's 11 official languages. Rather than starting from existing personality models, we employed an indigenous approach, in which the implicit personality structure is derived from everyday conceptions of personality. In the first study, we obtained personality descriptions by means of semistructured interviews in samples of speakers of each of the 11 languages. In consecutive steps of semantic clustering and conceptual analysis of these personality descriptions, we formed nine broad clusters of personality concepts. In the second

study, we employed a quantitative analysis of the midlevel components of these clusters in two independent samples. This analysis provided general support for the model, although some elements were not replicated in detail.

The nine-cluster model displays a certain correspondence with established models of personality like the Big Five and HEXACO. Our findings do not contradict claims of universality of personality dimensions of these models (see, e.g., Church, 2008). At the same time, our model differs from these established models in two ways. Firstly, the Agreeableness-like cluster, Softheartedness, is considerably larger than the rest. This finding has some relation to findings in the lexical studies, where the general tendency is for Extraversion and Agreeableness to be the largest factors (De Raad et al., 2010; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). In our study, however, the concepts related to Agreeableness and social-relational functioning (represented, besides Softheartedness, in Relationship Harmony, Integrity, and Facilitating) outnumber the rest, including Extraversion, in an impressive manner. It is also worth noting that Extraversion is a relatively narrow cluster in our data as compared to most lexical studies, in which aspects of confidence and boldness are often more salient (Peabody & De Raad, 2002). Secondly, three of the clusters are relatively foreign to the Big Five model. Integrity and Relationship Harmony are reminiscent of the HEXACO model's Honesty (Ashton & Lee, 2001; Lee & Ashton, 2008) and the CPAI's Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), respectively; yet the clusters have somewhat different connotations in our data. Our Integrity cluster has a correspondence to the first two personality facets of the Honesty-Humility factor, sincerity and fairness, but not to the other two, greed-avoidance and modesty. Additionally, Integrity includes facets associated with equal treatment (vs. discrimination), which is not represented in the HEXACO model. The CPAI's Interpersonal Relatedness, in turn, consists of four core components: harmony, *ren qing* (relationship orientation), flexibility, and face (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001). Of those, the first three, representing respectively intra- and interpersonal harmony, active efforts to maintain harmony, and flexibility to situations, seem related to our Relationship Harmony cluster. Face (referring to face-saving motives) seems to be less salient in the studied languages.

Finally, Facilitating, referring to the qualities of an individual as a good guide in life and example to others, seems to be a fairly unique

concept that is not represented in any personality model (although see De Raad, 1999). It could be argued that the Facilitating cluster was relatively salient in our data because we asked informants to describe persons who often serve a facilitating role in the socialization process, such as teachers. However, many responses that were coded as belonging to the Facilitating cluster were found in the descriptions of persons who are not typically associated with this role, such as siblings and friends.

Both aspects in which our model differs from the Big Five—the overrepresentation of relational, Agreeableness-like concepts and the identification of concepts not well represented in the Big Five—point in the same direction. The attributes of an individual's social-relational functioning seem to warrant a central place in the personality conceptions of South Africans, to such an extent that the Big Five conceptual space has to be expanded to accommodate these attributes. It is noteworthy that the strongest claims for expansion of the Big Five, coming from China (Church, 2008; F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), also refer to social-relational factors. The collectivistic values of a culture (Hofstede, 1980) can be expected to be associated with an emphasis on relational aspects of personality, although indigenous research in other collectivistic cultures such as Mexico (Ortiz et al., 2007) and the Philippines (Katigbak et al., 2002) has found less support for culture-specific dimensions beyond the Big Five. Interestingly, other research involving student samples from Mexico and the Philippines (Del Prado et al., 2007) has also failed to confirm hypotheses derived from the individualism–collectivism theoretical framework for these two cultures, leaving the possibility open that these cultures, or especially student samples there, may be somewhat atypical with respect to characteristics of collectivism and interdependence. It remains to be established in direct comparisons of measures based on the present model and Chinese inventories to what extent there is an overlap in their conceptual space in different samples.

An important characteristic of our indigenously derived model of personality conceptions in South Africa is that it represents data from all 11 major cultural-linguistic groups of the country. The model incorporates both common facets found across all or most of the groups (which is true for the majority of the facets) and facets found in only a few or single groups. In this way, the model accounts comprehensively for the implicit structure of personality in all

groups, rather than favoring some groups over others. In other words, the conceptual model presented in this study suggests a derived-etic structure (Berry, 1989), which is the case when a psychological phenomenon is shown to be invariant across cultural groups, using culture-specific methods. The structure accommodates the core elements of personality deemed important in the different cultural-linguistic groups of South Africa. The extent to which groups differ in their perceptions of the specific composition of these core elements (e.g., what makes up Intellect?) should be addressed in a future study. The anticipated influence of the notion of Ubuntu was evident across different clusters in the social-relational domain and in all cultural-linguistic groups. The model developed in this study thus forms a strong basis for the development of an instrument for the culturally appropriate assessment of personality in South Africa.

Our study has implications for the emic-etic debate. After decades of often ideological debates between proponents of both types of studies, psychological research is now more receptive of rapprochement. Emic and etic studies should inform each other about more universal and more culture-specific models of personality (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). Thus, on the one hand, our clustering of emic terms was partly informed by current, typically etic models in personality such as the FFM and HEXACO model. On the other hand, clusters that are found in South Africa (notably Relationship Harmony and Softheartedness) may have at least some applicability in other cultural contexts. So emic approaches may inform etic approaches as to how their models could be expanded. The final goal of the combination of emic and etic approaches is not a classification of purely universal and purely culture-specific aspects of personality but a better appreciation of which aspects are shared across which types of cultures. The combination of emic and etic studies can help to overcome the dichotomous view of personality traits as either culture-specific or universal and give way to a more gradual view of levels of universality and cultural specificity of traits.

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